5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

goal of return to their tribal home, even Toucouleur, find it more difficult to resist the pressures of their environment, and Dakar has a large number of permanent settlers, who are first and foremost *Dakarois*.

Many of these have found a common brotherhood above tribe in their trade unions. These, despite various setbacks and restrictions, have been well organised in Senegal. Indeed the 1944 decree restoring liberty of association did much to ensure this, by insisting that trade union officials should have good educational qualifications and that accounts should be scrutinised by the administration. Most of the unions belonged to one of the large French confederations from whom they received considerable help and advice. Since Senegal has until quite recently had over 40 per cent of the organised workers of French West Africa, trade unionism embraced a large number of people of different ethnic groups brought together to seek ends that went far beyond the limited horizons of tribal ambition.

The influence of the towns extends beyond their limits. Both in the cities, and increasingly in the villages, young men who have come in contact with the new life of Dakar or of the other major towns tend to contract monogamous marriages in the European style. Amongst the Diola, as L. V. Thomas has observed, young men are now building their own houses outside the parental extended home. But probably most important of all in the breakdown of tribal barriers is the increase of economic individualism, the desire to have possessions, and particularly good clothes, all of which run contrary to the traditional social system which leads to the maximum dispersion of a man's gains amongst his relatives.

Only the very strongest survive the effect of the city, in particular a city like Dakar, the most sophisticated, the most European, the city most diametrically opposed to the tribal life of the bush. Indeed among Dakar's inhabitants only the Moors and Toucouleur really withstand the

17: Mercier--37 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30
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369
592
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uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1).

1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)--

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[596]
[591]

2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

17: Mercier--38 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/31 cont./

369x
592
[591]
[596]

a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;